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PAGE 01 STATE 116776
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TO AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

FOL TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM VIENNA DTD 20 MAY 1977 QTE

S E C R E T VIENNA 4123

NODIS

DEPT PLEASE PASS USMISSION GENEVA EYES ONLY SECRETARY

VANCE

DEPT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE, ATT: DR. BRZEZINSKY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (MONDALE, WALTER F.), US, SF, RH, WA

SUBJECT: SECOND MEETING BETWEEN VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE AND
PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, AFTERNOON, MAY 19

1. BEGIN SUMMERY: AFTER BRIEF DISCUSSION OF RHODESIA AND
ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, AFTERNOON DISCUSSION TRUNED RO
NAMIBIA. VICE PRESIDENT MANDALE REVIEWED PROGRESS AT CAPE
TOWN AND SOUGHT TO OBTAIN SOUTH AFRICAN CLARIFICATION OF
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 116776

POSITION ON REMAINING ELEMENTS OF RESOLUTION 385, PRIMARILY
NATURE OF INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS WHICH SOUTH
AFIRICA CONTEMPLATES, AND RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. IN
RESPONSE TO VORSTER'S SUGGESTION THAT INTERIM ADMINISTRATION
BE TURNHALLE REVISITED, VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE STATED THIS
APPROACH UNACCEPTABLE. WHEN VORSTER REITERATED HIS VIEW, IT
WAS AGREED THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD DEVELOP ITS PROPOSAL FOR
DISCUSSION AT A MEETING WITH THE CONTACT GROUP, TO BE HELD
AT CAPE TOWN IN APPROXIMATELY TWO WEEKS. SOUTH AFRICANS
CONTINUES TO INSIST THEY HOLD NO POLITICAL PRISONERS,

BUT WENT ON TO STATE THEY WOULD CONSIDER FAVORABLY
RELEASE OF NAMIBEANS HELD IN SOUTH AFRICA IF ZAMBEA
AND TANZAIA WOULD ALSO RELEASE NAMIBIANS HELD BY THEIR
GOVERNMENTS. VORSTER AGREED TO PROVIDE LATER HIS
REACTION TO CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL THAT AN INTERNATIONAL
COMMISSION OF JURISTS SETTLE DISPUTES REGARDING
POLITICAL PROSONERSM. END SUMMARY.

2. SOUTHERN RHODISIA: DISCUSSION AT OPENING OF MEETING
RETURNED TO QUESTION OF ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND.

VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE SAID THAT BRITISH FOREIGN
SECRETARY OWEN HAD TOLD SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THAT
IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO GET SPONSORS FOR THE FUND WERE
IT TO BE INTERPRETED AS A "BUY-OT"FUND. THE VICE
PRESIDENT REITERATED THAT WE SUPPORT CONSTITUTIONAL
GUARANTEES, ELECTIONS -- WHICH PROBABLY WOULD LEAD TO
A MODERATE GOVERNMENT IF HELD SOON-- AND ASSISTANCE,

THE SHAPE OF WHICH COULD BE DETERMINED DURING THE
CONSULTATIVE PROCESS. VORSTER SAID THAT SOUTH AFRICA
WOULD NOW HAVE TO RESERVE ITS POSITION ON THE QUESTION
AND CLEAR UP THE MATTER WITH THE BRITISH. HE AGREED
TO CONSIDER AND COMMENT "BEFORE YOU LEAVE" ON FOLLOWING
STATEMENT WHICH VICE PRESIDENT ENCOURAGED HIM TO ACCEPT
IN ORDER TO FOSTER "CONSTRUCTIVE, HOPEFUL ENVIRONMENT":
SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 116776

"THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AGREES TO SUPPORT
BRITISH-AMERICAN EFFORTS TO GET THE DIRECTLY INTERESTED
PARTIES TO AGREE TO AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND
THE NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS, INCLUDING THE
HOLDING OF ELECTIONS IN WHICH ALL CAN TAKE PART EQUALLY,
SO THAT ZIMBABWE CAN ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE DURING 1978."

3. NAMIBIA: TURNING TO NAMIBIA, VORSTER REPEATED
STATEMENTS MADE TO CONTACT GROUP IN CAPETOWN, AND

REITERATED SOUTH AFRICA'S DESIRE TO RID ITSELF
OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA. HE CHRONICLED ESCHER/WALDHEIM
CONTACTS. VORSTER ARGUED THAT OVAMBO AND OKAVANGO

HAVE AUTONOMOUS GOVERNMENTS, ADDING THAT SOUTH AFRICA
WILL BE SETTING UP ADDITIONAL LOCAL GOVERNEMENTS, FOR
DAMARAS AND HEREROS. VORSTER DESCRIBED HIS PERSONAL
COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT TURNHALLE. ONLY IN ORDER TO
ACCOMMODATE THE CONTACT GROUP, VORSTER CONTINUED, HAD
HE AGREED THAT STATE PRESIDENT WOULD PROMULGATE
IMPLEMENTATION OF TURNHALLE PROGRAM, RATHER THAN HIS
OWN PARLIAMENT.

4. VICE PRESIDENT MANDALE OBSERVED THAT FOUR POINTS

HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN CAPE TOWN WITH SOME DEGREE OF AGREEMENT. ON THE FIRST POINT, ELECTIONS, VORSTER THEN SAID THAT HE DID NOT KNOW THE RESULTS OF THE CONTACT GROUP'S TALKS IN WINDHOEKA, BUT THAT 95 PER CENT OF THE WHITE ELECTORATE IN NAMIBIA HAD JUST APPROVED THE TURNHALLE PROGRAM. ON THE SECOND POINT, THE PRESENCE OF UN REPRESENTATIVES, VORSTER SAID THAT AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED. ON THE THIRD POINT, SOUTH AFRICAN WITHDRAWAL, VORSTER INSISTED THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD AGREED TO WITHDRAW ITS INSTRUMENTALITIES IN PHASES, "AFTER THE INSTALLATION OF GOVERNMENT". NO AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED AT CAPETOWN CONCERNING

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 116776

DETAINEES, POLITICAL PRISONERS, OR RESTRICTIVE LAWS. VORSTER ADDED THAT HE HAD SET DECEMBER 31, 1978 AS THE DATE FOR NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE. THE VICE PRESIDENT CHARACTERIZED THESE INITIAL AGREEMENTS AS HOPEFUL, THEN MCHENRY GAVE AN OUTLINE OF SUBSEQUENT CONTACT GROUP CONVERSATIONS. MCHENRY OBSERVED THAT PEOPLE WITH WHOM THE CONTACT GROUP HAD SINCE MET HAD ASKED THE SAME QUESTIONS AS THOSE WHICH HAD BEEN UNRESOLVED AT CAPETOWN.

5. THE VICE PRESIDENT REITERATED U.S. SUPPORT FOR U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385, NOTING THAT ITS SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION REQUIRES AN IMPARTIAL INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY, WHICH WOULD NOT PREJUDGE THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT, BUT WOULD BE NEUTRAL. SECONDLY,

FAIR AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION WAS NECESSARY IN A NATIONAL ELECTION FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, WHICH WOULD DRAW UP A CONSTITUTION AND LEAD THE COUNTRY TO INDEPENDENCE.

VORSTER STATED THAT HE WAS VERY COMMITTED TO EXTEND LOCAL GOVERNMENT TO THE DAMARAS HEREROS, AND TO SET UP AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA. THE GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE REPRESENTATIVES OF EACH LOCAL POPULATION GROUP, WITH 11 NON-WHITES AND, AT MOST, 2 WHITE WORK", ADDED VORSTER.

6. THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THIS INTERPRETATION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY, ON TURNHALLE LINES, WAS A "VERY SERIOUS" DEPARTURE FROM OUR UNDERSTANDING. TURNHALLE WAS REJECTED BY THE U.N. AND THE U.S. HE REITERATED OUR CONCEPTION OF THE PROCESS NECESSARY. VORSTER RETORTED THAT AN ELECTION IS ENVISAGED IN HIS PLANNING TOO, TO BE HELD ON THE ISSUE OF A CONSTITUTION, I.E., TO RATIFY TURNHALLE.

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 116776

7. MCHENRY AGAIN OUTLINED OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE CAPETOWN TALKS, SPECIFYING THE SAG'S AGREEMENT THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT BE TURNHALLE BY ANOTHER NAME. THE VICE PRESIDENT CAUTIONED VORSTER ON PROBABLE REACTIONS TO HIS PURSUING TUENHALLE, TO WHICH VORSTER REPLIED THAT HE WOULD LEAVE PUBLIC OFFICE RATHER THAN BE RESPONSIBLE FOR A TURNOVER TO VIOLENCE AND A BACHING DOWN ON HIS PUBLIC COMMITMENT TO THE NAMIBIANS. WHILE BOTHA ENDEAVORED TO DEPICT MORE FLEXIBILITY AS EXISTING CONCERNING CONCEPTS FOR THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY/INTERIM GOVERNMENT, MOST FLEXIBILITY VORSTER WOULD OFFER WAS TO SAY THT EXACT SHAPE OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT HAD NOT YET BEEN CLARIFIED. VORSTER CAME DOWN HARD: HE SAID THERE WERE TWO ALTERNATIVES FOR SOUTH AFRICA-- TO PULL OUT OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA COMPLETELY, "LOCK, STOCK AND BARREL" OR TO DO WHAT THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE HAVE ASKED, I.E., TO IMPEMENT TURNHALLE. BOTHA INSISTED THAT WE WERE OVER-

EMPHASIZING IMPORTANCE OF CENTRAL AUTHORITY/INTERIM GOVERNMENT. HE ADDED THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD GONE FAR IN MEETING U.N, DEMANDS OVER NAMIBIA. VORZTER KEPT COMING BACK TO ARGUMENT THAT HIS OWN CAUCUS WOULD ADK HIM TO LEAVE OFFICE IF HE DID NOT HONOR HIS COMMITTMENT TO TURNHALLE. VORSTER SAID THAT TRUNHALLE WAS TWO YEARS OLD AND THAT NO ONE HAD OBJECTED TO IT UNTIL CAPETOWN. MCHENRY AND THE VICE PRESIDENT REMINDED SOUTH AFRICANS OF DEMARCHES MADE AS EARLY AS APRIL 1975. BOTHA AND VORSTER THEN DESCRIBED SOUTH AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR KISSINGER'S SEVEN POINTS, BLAMING FAILURE OF THAT INITIATIVE ON SWAPO. FOURIE NOTED THAT ALL KISSINGER HAD EVER SAID CONCERNING TUNHALLE WAS TO ASK DELAY IN

ITS IMPLEMENTATION.

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 116776

8. FOLLIWNG BRIEF ADJOURNMENT, VICE PRESIDENT SUGGESTED, AND VORSTER AGREED, THAT CONTACT GROUP WOULD MEET AGAIN IN CAPETOWN WITHSOUTH AFRICANS IN "LATE MAY", AT A DATE TO BE DETERMINED, TO DISCUSS THE NATURE OFTHE CENTRAL ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY AND PLANS FOR WITHDRAWAL. BOTHA ARGUED THAT TURNHALLE REPRESENTATIVES SHOULD BE PRESENT AT THAT MEETING, AND VICE PRESIDENT AND MCHENRY AGRUED AGAINST IT. VORSTER SAID THAT "IF WE DON'T FIND EACH OTHER" AT THE NEXT CAPETOWN MEETING, HE HAD HIS "OWN COMMITMENTS TO HONOR BEFORE JUNE 20" END OF CURRENT SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENTARY SESSION).

9. ON RETURNEES, VORSTER NOTED AGREEMENT REACHED AT

CAPETOWN, ADDING THAT A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF NAMIBIANS WERE DETAINED IN ZAMBIA AND ELSEWHERE. THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID THAT ALL NAMIBIANS SHOULD BE RELEASED. HE OBSERVED THAT U.S. HAS ARGUED FOR FREEDOM OF POLITICAL PRISONERS WORLDWIDE, POINTING OUT OUR POSITION REGARDING SOVIET DISSIDENTS, AND THAT THAT WOULD BE OUR STANCE AT UPCOMING BELGRADE CONFERENCE ON HELSINKI ACCORDS. VORSTER DID NOT OPPOSE VICE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL THAT NAMIBIAN PRISONERS HEWD BY SOUTH AFRICA BE RETURNED TO NAMIBIA OR CONTACT GROUP'S EARLIER SUGGESTION THAT INDIVIDUAL CASES BE REVIEWED BY INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JUISTS. VORSTER DID SAY THAT SAG HAD DISCUSSED MATTER WITH KISSINGER, WHO HAD GIVEN SOUTH AFRICANS A LIST OF PRISONERS, WHICH SAG HAD REVIEWED. "ACCORDING TO THE NOTE ON THE CASE", SAID VORSTER, A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF THOSE ON THE LIST ALREADY HAD BEEN RELEASED , AND A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF THOSE NAMED WERE NEVER DETAINEE. THOSE CONVICTED OF COMMON CRIMES WOULD NOT BE FREED, HE ADDED VORSTER AGREED TO DISCSS WHOLE QUESTION IN CAPETOWN. HE WOULD SEE HIS COLLEAGUES, AND WOULD TRY TO REVIEW QUESTION "AS FAVORABLY AS POSSIBLE". BOTHA HAMMERED AGAIN AT QUESTION OF NAMIBIANS IMPISONED IN ZAMBIA
SECRET

PAGE 07 STATE 116776

AND TANZANIA, EXPRESSING FEAR THEY WOULD BE SUMMARILY EXECUTED. VICE PRESIDENT AGREED THAT WE WOULD ACT TO URGE THEIR LIBERATION, COUNSELING SOUTH AFRICA TO SET AN EXAMPLE BY LEBERATING ITS PRIONERS FIRST. VORSTER REPLIED THAT THIS WULD RISK HIS LOSING FACE. FURTHER, HIS OWN INTELLIGENCE INDICATED THAT THE LIBERATION OF NAMIBIANS NOW HELD BY THE SAG WOULD NOT MEAN THE INTRODUCTION OF MORE MODERATE VOICES ONTO THE SCENE. IN FACT, THEY WOULD CONSTITUTE EXACTLY THE OPPOSTITE.

10. U.S. POLICY: VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE THEN DESCRIBED THE FUNDAMENTAL TRANSFORMATION OF AMERICAN SOCIETY, AND OUR ENDURING COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS. HE TOLD VORSTER OF THE HISTORY OF INTEGRATION IN AMERICA, ITS ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES, AND HOW THIS CHANGE HAS ROBBED COMMUNISM OF ITS PROPAGANDA ARGUMENTS AGAINST

US.

11. SOUTH AFRICA: VORSTER COUNTERED WITH STANDARD FARE, POINTING OUT ADVANCEMENT FOR BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA IN EDUCATION, ON POLICE FORCE, IN TEACHING, AND INTEGRATION IN SPORTS. IF IT HAD NOT BEEN FOR HIS PARTY, VORSTER SAID, NO CHANGES WOULD HAVE OCCURRED. BUT, WHILE BLACKS ARE NOT INFERIOR, THERE ARE REALITIES IN SOUTH AFICA WHICH WILL NOT BE ALTERED. WE MUST NOT

EQUATE HISTORY OF AMERICAN BLACKS WITH THAT OF SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS. HE BITTERLY REFERRED TO BRITISH EFFORTS TO ANGLICIZE AFRIKANERS, POINTING OUT FAVORABLE THAT AFRIKANERS NOW GO TO AFRIKAANS SCHOOLS, ENGLISH TO ENGLISH SCHOOLS, XHOSAS TO XHOSAS SCHOOLS, ETC. NO ONE CAN CHANGE THIS, NO ONE WILL DARE TO. IF YOU SAY CHANGE, I WILL SAY I CAN'T. THE SYSTEM IS ENGRAINED IN US AND I WILL NOT CHANGE.

12. THE MEETING ADJOURNED AT 6:00 P.M., HAVING LASTED
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PAGE 08 STATE 116776

A HALF HOUR LONGER THAN EARLIER PROJECTED, WITH AGREEMENT TO BEGIN MEETING MORNING MAY 20 AN HOUR EARLIER, TO ALLOW ADDITIONAL TIME. THE VICE PRESIDENT AND VORSTER ALSO AGREED NOT TO MAKE STATEMENT AT THIS TIME TO PRESS, OR TO CHARACTERIZED SESSIONS HELD MAY 19. MEEHAN UNQTE CHRISTOPHER

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